7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

a wooden ladder or by an ascending series of stones projecting from the wall of the building.

The flat roofs are used extensively in the sunny part of the year. Apricots, almonds, and grapes are set out on them to dry. Many householders ornament them with potted plants and receive guests on them. In the heat of midsummer, the interiors of the houses tend to be stuffy at night since the gentle breezes do not penetrate inside. Consequently, all who can, sleep on the roof (or terrace) under a brush shelter called *kheymi* ("tent").

Although no two houses are exactly the same, it is legitimate to classify all of them into a number of types, which are indices of successive eras in construction and design.

The first, which still has the greatest number of examples, has two subtypes. By far the most numerous of these has one room on the upper level, few windows, but often more than one door, and a flat earth roof. The lower level (*qabū*) is designed as a stable and storeroom and frequently consists of a long, low barrel-vault. The roof of the upper level (living quarters for the family) may or may not be supported on masonry pillars and arches, in addition to the outer walls. The walls are usually very thick, often exceeding three feet, for the old style of construction was two (dry-laid) stone walls with a rubble fill between them. The roof of the old-style house is constructed as follows: round or semi-round beams are laid from the top of one wall to the opposite one at right angles to the long axis of the house. A layer of shorter, thick sticks is placed across the beams, and then a layer of finer sticks is added. Finally, a layer of earth about a foot thick is packed down as hard as possible on top. To prevent leaking, the roof must be packed down several times each winter; for this purpose every old-style house is equipped with a stone roller (*madjū*), weighing about a hundred pounds. These houses are dark inside because of the paucity of windows which are ungainly and closed by solid wooden shutters. To counteract this, the inside plastered walls are either whitewashed or painted very pale blue. There is every reason to suppose that this style of house is very ancient indeed. However, none of the existing examples of it in Mansūf is probably more than a hundred and fifty years old, and some are probably as little as sixty years old. Repairs—sometimes amounting to rebuilding—and alterations have always been a matter of course. However, no houses of this type have been built since the early 1890's. Woolerton (1946, p. 267) says that this traditional Lebanese house is well adapted to its environment. It provides insulation against the chilly blasts of winter and against the heat of summer as effectively as any essentially primitive construction could.

The second subtype of old-style house has only two examples in the village. The construction is essentially the same as the foregoing, but the following features are added: two or more distinctly separate rooms in the upper level; sculptured ornamentation, including fully round columns, around the windows; and glazed ornamental windows, with rather elaborate designs formed by the lead mullions.

7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

362 sums at the ends, extends around the walls. This is fitted with hard, flat cushions which are upholstered in some very light color—often plain white. Very likely a set of modern, reclining chairs, with stiff cane backs and bottoms, will be set formally around a table in the center of the room. Here and there, there will be rather rough wooden stools with soft cane seats. At one side, there will be a large rectangular dining table with a cloth or plastic cover. In some houses, fully upholstered modern easy-chairs will be found.

353 The walls are devoid of ornamentation, with one exception which is conspicuous in the houses which have it. This is a concentrated mass of photographs, some yellowed with age, some brand new, of various members of the owner's family, including emigrants who are fondly remembered. Sometimes, among the family photographs, there will also be one or two postcard-sized pictures of saints or members of the Holy Family. However, as far as the writer is aware, there are no houses which have anything resembling a household shrine, and many have no religious symbols whatever.

[251] Especially in the older houses, there are recesses in the walls, often closed with wooden doors. These are used for storage—for example, large jars for the year's supply of olive oil.

Only a close friend of the family will ordinarily be given the opportunity to go from the *mağ'ad*, or front section, to the rear. Here are the sleeping quarters of the family, and cooking equipment will be found in one corner also—unless there is an additional room for this purpose, as is the case with several essentially one-room houses.

352 513 Every house is wholly or mostly equipped with metal bedsteads, springs, mattresses, pillows, pillowcases, sheets and blankets, all of European manufacture and/or design. Sixty years ago everyone slept on the floor on sheepskins wrapped in blankets or quilted puffs. Only suggestions of this practice are now to be found in a few houses.

354 The traditional type of stove was a masonry oven with apertures in the top, in which the chief fuel was brushwood. Very few such stoves are now used. Rather, nearly every house is equipped with at least one "Primus" stove, a small, portable appliance, made in Sweden, which operates on the principle of the ignition of kerosene which has been vaporized by heat and pressure. Basic instructions for its operation are etched on the side of its brass fuel tank in Arabic, Hindustani, and Chinese, and we might say that this is an item in a process which might be called "deliberate diffusion." It is inexpensive to buy and operate and is quite efficient except for the fact that there is only one burner per stove.

415 A minimal assortment of cooking utensils would include: a teakettle; a set, in graduated sizes, of long-handled metal beakers (for boiling coffee); a cylindrical brass coffee grinder; pots, bowls, and platters of various sizes and shapes, made of metal or pottery; and a stone mortar and pestle. Hardware would include a ladle, knives of various sizes, and long-handled serving forks and spoons. Food is served

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Bread (*khubz*) is not the only wheat product which is made in the bakery and eaten. There is also holy bread (*qurbaan*) (which will be discussed later). And a special treat is *manqoushi* ("fingered"). This starts as a disk of unleavened dough which looks very much like an unbaked loaf of bread. But a rim is pinched up around the edge and the maker may punch herringbone or crosshatch designs in the center with her fingers. The center is then covered liberally with olive oil and on this sugar and sesame seeds are sprinkled. It is preferably eaten as soon as possible after it has been baked. It is sweet and filling. None of the very sweet, flaky pastries, which can be bought in Middle Eastern restaurants, was encountered in the village.

Meat. Sheep are killed ordinarily only on Sundays, and the meat is bought and most of it eaten immediately. There appears to be a sort of folk hygiene connected with this practice. One of the few complaints about city life voiced by a young person was that it was not a good idea to buy meat in the city because one didn't know how long it had been hanging in the butcher shop, completely exposed to flies and the dust of the street. Beef, a prime source of tapeworm, is not eaten at all, nor is pork.

The main dish of the standard Sunday dinner, taken at noon, is raw *kibbi*, perhaps the most famous Lebanese dish. It consists of raw meat and cracked wheat ground up together in the stone mortar and served as a smooth mound on a platter. It is washed down with another famous item, *'araq*, a distilled grape liquor, flavored with anis, which is clear and colorless when it comes from the bottle but turns milky white when water is added to it, as it usually is. The villagers buy *'araq* which is made in the city, although they would undoubtedly make their own if they had to. The intake of alcohol is very moderate. It is never drunk alone but always as part of a meal. Four small glasses of *'araq* mixed with water are considered enough, if not too much. The writer is reasonably certain that there is no cultural pattern for getting really drunk for its own sake. A little wine is made locally, but not very much.

Raw meat is also eaten in small chunks, taken in bread and dipped in the rough salt which is obtained locally from the sea. Most of the specialized organs, such as liver, kidneys, testicles, and lungs, are eaten in this manner.

What is left over from the raw *kibbi* is cooked, either in the form of a flat disk or in individual patties. This cooked *kibbi* will appear on Monday's, and perhaps Tuesday's, menu. *Lahm mishwi* ("broiled meat"—on skewers) another regional specialty, is an alternative.

Roast chicken is sometimes served but usually only on special occasions, such as the saint's-day feasts at which certain families entertain the priest.

Olives. All the olives which are consumed in the village are local produce. Some are cured in brine and stored for eating throughout the year. A dish of them appears at every meal. But most of a year's harvest is reduced, locally, to oil which is used in nearly every phase of cooking.